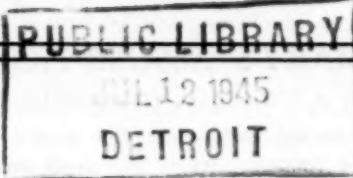


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July 14, 1945

AMERICA



Russia: Sunset or Dawn?

NINA A. TOUMANOV

India's Prosperity Is Ours

PAREKUNNEL J. THOMAS



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COMMENT ON THE WEEK

Washington Round-up. As June slipped away and the summer sun beat furiously on the banks of the Potomac, Washington sweltered and sweated through the most stifling heat of the year. President Truman returned from his trip to the West, as unruffled as ever and obviously refreshed, to watch James F. Byrnes take the oath as Secretary of State. Since the occupant of this office is now next in line to the Presidency, it had been rightly predicted that Edward Stettinius would resign to make way for someone more closely identified with the Democratic Party organization. Mr. Stettinius is destined to become the first American member of the United Nations Security Council. President Truman accepted another resignation—that of Harry Hopkins, who was forced to retire as Presidential adviser on account of chronic ill health. The President generously praised Mr. Hopkins' great and unselfish contribution to the country, and those who know something of the inner history of the war quickly echoed Mr. Truman's gracious words. At the week's close, Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau submitted his resignation, and Associate Justice Roberts, who was seventy on May 2, announced his retirement from the Supreme Court. On Capitol Hill, Congress continued to fumble an important war appropriations bill, the orderly progress of government being interrupted by a minority attempt to kill the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee. This obstructionism was offset, however, by the Senate, which passed the House-approved Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act exactly as the Administration had requested. Fifteen Republicans broke with their Party's high tariff philosophy and helped swell the majority. On the credit side, also, was the action of the Senate Banking Committee, which sent the Bretton Woods monetary proposals to the floor with an encouraging 14—4 vote.

Poland and Free Elections. On the eve of the proposed meeting of the Big Three, an announcement was made simultaneously by President Truman, for the United States, and by the British Government, which afforded recognition to the new Polish Provisional Government in Warsaw. In Washington, State Department officials had already spoken of "details" as to the agreement whereby the new Polish Government has undertaken to conduct free elections that would necessarily be preliminary to any recognition. Certainly it is just these requirements that the world would like to know, for on them hinges the question of whether the elections will be bona fide or mere pretense. A most obvious detail would appear to be that the Russian Army withdraw from Poland, leaving the country free to vote as it pleases. As if anticipating this very idea, a broadcaster from Warsaw announced, again on July 3, that the Red Army was pulling out of Poland, that Polish highways were "jammed with Russian vehicles"; and observers were quoted to the effect that no Red Army soldiers were in evidence in Warsaw, Cracow and other large Polish centers. An alternative proposal might be the joint occupation of Poland by American and British troops along with the Russians; not to omit the free access to that country of correspondents from the Western nations. Something of this sort is undoubtedly a minimum requirement for any reality in the election proposals; as well as an absolute minimum for cooperation with Warsaw by the United States. Since both Warsaw and the Soviets were intensely anxious for this recognition, it is hard to see how either of them can turn thumbs down upon these "details."

New Labor Law. Only a small minority of our people cherish the pagan illusion that war is a necessary and benevolent agent of social progress. A still smaller minority believes that the common welfare ought to be subordinate to the welfare of private interests. Accordingly, joining with the vast majority of our fellow Americans, we sympathize with the stated objectives of the proposed Federal Industrial Relations Act sponsored by Senators Hatch, Ball and Burton, and by a public committee headed by Donald Richberg. We, too, are not persuaded that labor and management ought to be permitted "to wage brutal war with little regard for civilized ethics or for the public welfare," and we welcome any scheme that will "encourage the making and maintaining of labor agreements," "support genuine collective bargaining," and provide machinery for the just and generally peaceful settlements of industrial disputes. However, a summary perusal of the proposed Federal Industrial Relations Act leads us to doubt whether it does really constitute, as its authors aver, "a Program for Industrial Peace." Some parts of the Act—notably Section 8, which deals with unfair labor practices—lack the precision and clarity that are essential to regulatory legislation if the rights of the regulated are to be preserved. Other sections contain proposals which involve such a sharp departure from current labor legislation that they ought to be adopted only after the most painstaking analysis. This the sponsors of the Bill willingly recognize. They have invited study and criticism and, as the weeks go on, this Review will do its part to oblige them. We, in our turn, invite a similar interest from our readers.

Hundred-Billion-Dollar Spender. For a long time now Uncle Sam has been the world's greatest spender, but until the Treasury closed its books on July 1, marking the end of the fiscal year, not even Uncle Sam had ever succeeded

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in disbursing \$100 billion in a single year. The announcement, therefore, by Secretary Morgenthau, that during the past twelve months Federal expenditures exceeded \$100 billion means that another record has been broken in the course of World War II, and one that probably will stand for a long time to come. Naturally, war spending accounted for most of the astronomical, and almost meaningless, total. It amounted to more than \$90 billion. Of this sum, the Army spent \$50 billion and the Navy \$30 billion, a fact which also deserves chronicling since neither service has ever spent so much money before. As of July 1, the national debt stood at a record-breaking \$258,682,000,000. Fortunately other records were broken, also, of which the most important was the new high in receipts of \$46 billion. The bulk of this money—\$35 billion—was paid to the Government in the form of income taxes on individuals and corporations, and receipts from these sources likewise surpassed all previous levels. The post-office department turned in a handsome profit of \$188 million, the like of which had never before even been imagined. And—for the first time during the war—Government corporations took in more money than they spent, about \$374 million more. Economists may argue about the financial future of Uncle Sam; his ability to smash all records in sight they cannot very well question.

Archbishop Spellman on Intolerance. Have we talked too much about tolerance? Is the subject overworked, over-emphasized? If anyone has a mind that way, it is certainly not the mind of the Most Rev. Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop of New York, who received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Marquette University in Milwaukee on July 1. In his address at the Commencement exercises, Archbishop Spellman called intolerance an "octopian monster that can destroy our cherished American heritage and democratic institutions," and "the offspring of ignorance and falsehood." "Americans, true Americans," he declared, "deplore racism, intolerance, lies and injustice." Citing the intellectual tyranny that held sway in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and in Japan, he warned against the "intellectual bigots who would deny the existence of God, God's laws and man's God-given rights, yet the very dignity of man depends upon personal spiritual independence." Americans, he concluded, have a lofty part to play in the Providence of God:

It is our sacred trust in our high destiny under God, to stand before the peoples of the world as an example of unselfish devotion to the ideals that have made us a great nation, the Christian ideals of liberty, truth, tolerance and unity builded of respect for God's image in man and every man's right to life, liberty and happiness.

Such words are a sharp warning to bigots of all kinds: race bigots in Congress and anti-religious bigots in public life, that their attempt to turn freedom into license will not be over-long in incurring the wrath of the American people.

Prizewinners. The *Atlantic Monthly* for June carries its annual announcement of the winners in the essay, story and poetry contests, open to all college students who have used the magazine in some college course. It is interesting to note, and heartening, too, that one of the three honorable mentions in the essay, all three honorable mentions in the story, three of the four honorable mentions in poetry, go to students of Catholic colleges conducted by nuns—a total of seven out of the twelve awards. Perhaps the discussion in our literary columns about the parlous state of Catholic writing is hereby a little rebutted: young writers seem to be

coming along to save the day. And a point of particular pride (though we say it who shouldn't), is that the nun-instructors of five of these seven winners are regular contributors to *AMERICA*. The instructors of the successful young writers were Sister Mariella, O.S.B., of the College of Saint Benedict, St. Joseph, Minn.; Sister Mary Adorita, B. V. M., Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa; Sister Julie, Rosary College, River Forest, Ill.; Sister Maris Stella, The College of Saint Catherine, St. Paul, Minn.; Sister M. Maura, S.S.N.D., the College of Notre Dame of Maryland; and Sister Miriam, R.S.M., College Misericordia, Dallas, Penna. To them and to their pupils, a right hearty "well done!"

U.N.O. Russian Text. Turn and turn about, if practised by the Soviet Union, has most interesting possibilities, since the official Russian text of the Charter of the United Nations Organization was set up in the composing room of the *Monitor*, official weekly paper of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. According to the facts related in the issue of June 30 by the Editor, Rev. Hugh Donohoe, a representative of the U. S. Government Printing Office requested the services of one of the *Monitor's* type-setters skilled in setting Russian type. For a brief time the *Monitor's* composing room was under the jurisdiction of the State Department. Concludes Father Donohoe: "It was an honor thrust upon us and our hope is that the Russian text, put together in the offices of a Catholic newspaper, will chart the course for genuine religious freedom in the land in which it is read." The solution of the Russian problem is indispensable for a lasting world peace. Nothing could aid this further than the reciprocity of the USSR in permitting the text of the Catholic catechism to be set up and run off in the printing offices of *Pravda* or *Izvestia*.

The Pope and UNCIO. To date no official word has been given of the Vatican's reaction to the Charter emanating from the San Francisco Conference on International Organization. Despite rumors to the effect that the Pontiff would address a letter to Archbishop John J. Mitty of San Francisco, no effort was made to influence the deliberations of the delegates. Sticking very scrupulously to the provisions of the Lateran Treaty, which debars the Vatican from taking part in international peace conventions except by unanimous invitation of all parties concerned, the Holy Father refrained during the San Francisco Conference from making any statement which might seem to be interfering with the work of the delegates, or might give color to charges that the Vatican was violating its international obligations. A statement may, however, be expected in the near future, now that the Conference is over. Meanwhile, to Ann Stringer, correspondent for the United Press, the Pope expressed on June 30 his deep satisfaction with the progress and accomplishments of the Conference and the sincere hope that the nations now will be able to work out their problems over peace tables rather than trenches.

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THE NATION AT WAR

BORNEO is the site of the most recent operations against Japan. This is one of the largest islands in the world, stretching 830 miles from northeast to southwest, or as far as from New York to Florida. It is as wide as the distance from Indianapolis to New York.

The military value of Borneo lies in its position—and in its oil. On May 1, an Australian Division landed on Tarakan, which is a small island off the northeast coast, rich in oil. The conquest of that place was completed by the end of June, at which time some oil was reported as already being produced for the Allies. On June 10, the same Australian division landed a second party on the northwest coast in Brunei Bay. To this there has been no opposition. This is not such a good oil center, as the oil is largely very deep down. The Japanese are reported as having quite thoroughly destroyed this field. On July 1, another Australian division was landed near Balik (pronounced Bali—final K in Malay is silent) Papan. This is the location of the most important oil area in Borneo. According to the latest despatches, the Japanese are offering strong resistance, and the battle has but just started.

In all three invasion areas the Australian troops have been aided by the American Seventh Fleet and large American air forces. Australian and British air and naval forces have aided, and the Dutch have provided a small ground force. The High Command is under our General Douglas MacArthur, who commands all Allied forces of the Southwest Pacific.

The overwhelming superiority of the Allies on the sea and in the air enables them to land troops where they please. The Japanese can resist, but they have no longer the means to reinforce or supply their troops in areas removed from Japan or China.

For exactly the same reason, the Japanese can do little to interfere with the announced intention of the United States to construct, on recently conquered Okinawa, immense air fields from which super-bombers will fly off mercilessly to destroy every Japanese city and town and railroad. There still is a hope that Japan will surrender before it is really necessary to do all this.

COL. CONRAD H. LANZA

WASHINGTON FRONT

THERE IS a strange movement stirring somewhere in the official and journalistic circles of Washington that has to do with the American military government of Bavaria. The target seems at present to be Colonel Keegan, who is at the head of that government, and the accusation is that he has put a Catholic in charge of the German administration of Bavaria.

The movement seems to have started with a dispatch from Germany by Leonard Lyons, a Manhattan gossip columnist, whose syndicated column appears in the *Washington Post*, and who is at present touring Europe. The *Post* itself followed this up with a long editorial, in which "the ineffable Keegan" was represented as the villain. Just what the *Post* was driving at, however, was not clear, for it contrasted the American administration of Bavaria with the Russian treatment of Eastern Germany.

It seems that what we should not do in Germany is to put anybody in power who was active politically before. It does not seem to make any difference that the Catholic chosen by Colonel Keegan was an anti-Nazi and spent years in a concentration camp. It does not seem to make any difference that Bavaria is overwhelmingly Catholic and that it would be hard to find an administrator there who is not a Catholic. Nor do the objectors seem to mind that Russia is picking old Communists to do the same things in Eastern Germany.

Just what it is all about is hard to fathom, but it has all the earmarks of becoming a *cause célèbre*. The whole incident illustrates the difficulty which our Army has had and will continue to have in finding Germans to administer city and provincial affairs under military rule. This difficulty, from all appearances, is likely to get worse rather than better, especially if irresponsible writers are to continue to send back reports of things they do not like, and if editors are going to take their words at face value.

All kinds of severe criticisms have been leveled at the military governments, and most of them cancel each other out: we have put in Nazis, we have put in Communists, we have put in Catholics, and also anti-Catholics, and the end is not yet.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

FOUR ARCHBISHOPS, ten Bishops and a large number of priests and Religious joined with nationally prominent State and civic officials in tribute to the Most Rev. Duane G. Hunt, Bishop of Salt Lake City, at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his ordination on June 26. In his sermon at the Solemn Pontifical Mass celebrated by Bishop Hunt, Archbishop Mitty of San Francisco hailed him as "one of the outstanding spokesmen of religion in the West."

► Nearly 30,000 priests, Sisters and laymen are attending the 60 schools and institutes conducted by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference this summer in 35 dioceses. Basic rural philosophy, education, cooperatives, part-time farming and postwar planning are among the courses of study. New texts have been prepared on the subjects: "The Popes and Social Principles of Rural Life," "Rural Life and the Classics," and "A Study in Population Trends."

► The Rev. George C. Higgins, of the Social Action Department-N.C.W.C., told a mass meeting called to urge Congress to vote funds for continuance of the Fair Employment

Practices Committee that "even its enemies pay lip service to FEPC's underlying principles." Love of neighbor cannot be legislated, Father Higgins admitted, but he maintained that mistreatment of fellow citizens can be rightfully legislated against.

► The 40th anniversary of the *Acerbo Nimis*, encyclical letter of Pope Pius X, in which he directed that the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine be established in every parish in the world, will be celebrated in Kansas City, October 11-14, under the patronage of the Most Rev. Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of Kansas City. Featured will be a "National Symposium on the Life and Work of Pope Pius X."

► On the 45th anniversary of his ordination, the Very Rev. Msgr. John W. Keyes of Kansas City set aside \$30,000 as a fund to aid young married couples financially with regard to the birth of children. Medical and hospital fees for childbirth that amount to more than \$60 will be assumed through St. Vincent's Hospital. A \$10,000 fund to help wives of soldiers in maternity cases was established by the priest 18 months ago.

Louis E. SULLIVAN

RUSSIA: SUNSET OR DAWN?

NINA A. TOUMANOV

[The mystical dreams of world brotherhood which the author of this paper so enthusiastically describes contrast sharply with the totalitarian materialism and ruthless power politics of the present regime in Soviet Russia. Nevertheless, they form a part of the psychology of the present-day Russian people. If we are to deal intelligently with the Russian situation, we need to know something of these dreams, and the peculiar currents of thought that led up to them.—EDITOR.]

DOSTOYEVSKY in his voluminous work dedicated many pages to the minute analysis of Western Europe and its civilization. His harsh, often devastating definitions were not prompted by chauvinism or injustice, but by the profound horror inspired in him by the greedy bourgeois, sordid with bigotry and xenophobia. The author of the *Brothers Karamazov* deplored the disintegration of the West, its crumbling Christianity, its lack of charity and love; and expressed faith in the Russian people, who will be called upon to unite the nations of the world in friendship, thus starting a new era of the universal brotherhood of man.

To the narrow bourgeois nationalism which had divided unfortunate Europe into so many warring camps, Dostoyevsky apposed the idea of "pan-humanity," of a new and supreme universal understanding that would transcend all the discords and tragedies of life. But for a long time Dostoyevsky did not receive adequate recognition abroad. Russian voices have not been heard in the deafening din of the West. Russia has always been regarded as a junior partner in the European concern, though she occupied nearly half of that continent and for centuries, until Ivan the Terrible had checked the Mongols, was shielding Europe from invasions.

The hostility of the West was particularly noticeable in Germany from the time of the Teutonic Knights. The Germans, in their fateful *Drang nach Osten*, watched jealously the rising might of their Eastern neighbor.

THE SPENGLER SENSATION

In later years, on some occasions at least, the audacity and originality of the Russian thought impressed the German mind, that systematic mind which possesses the ingenious art of borrowing ideas from abroad and developing them with efficiency and astonishing talent for organizing. Here is an interesting example of this: in 1912, a young man, an obscure teacher in Bavaria, wrote a book so remarkable that the first draft of his manuscript determined his fame at once. The name of the young man was Oswald Spengler, the title of the book *The Decline of the West*. It was finished and revised by 1914, but did not appear in print until 1918.

Since World War I no other book on history or philosophy has met with as much success. After the chaos that followed the four years of struggle—the Russian Revolution, the breakdown of Germany—Spengler's work had the effect of a thunderbolt. It was remembered that the book was written two years before the war. Spengler was hailed as a prophet because of his amazing insight into the future of Europe, pregnant with imminent danger of a general collapse. World history, said Spengler, should not be divided into Ancient, Medieval and Modern, but rather compared to a mountain chain with its deep abysses and lofty summits outlined on the horizon. Around the Mediterranean Sea, in the Nile Valley, in different corners of Asia, in Arabia, Mexico and Peru, great cultures arose, developed, reached

their highest peaks, and finally, never to return again, vanished in the darkness. Europe is no exception to this natural law. It already shows traces of decay. The culture of its "Faustian" soul, born from the sense of eternity and space, is in the grip of a strange paralysis in which the tired West will meet imminent death. Its fate is the same as that of the "Apollonian" soul of ancient Hellas. Born of physical sensation, a glorious culture which had seemed forever young, forever sunlike, faded away with the collapse of the Graeco-Roman world.

The main idea of Spengler's book is the transformation of cultures into civilizations. Each culture is a separate organism and has its own life-course. It follows the full circle of the seasons from Spring birth to Autumn fruitfulness and decay. Then comes Winter, a period of frozen stiffness and ossification. The majestic wave-cycle is closed. Each culture thus turns into civilization.

This book, opening new vistas for the fascinated reader, was received with universal interest. The Russians acclaimed it enthusiastically despite the tragic years of bloodshed and starvation. It was compared to a magnificent symphony which developed deepest themes of history. Stunned by their own collapse, in the midst of European complacency, the Russian emigrés were particularly sensitive to the idea of an approaching doom, of greater storms yet to come that would soon engulf Europe. It looked as if Spengler were saying things never said before, never even dreamed before.

LEONTYEV, PRECURSOR OF SPENGLER

Twenty-seven years before Spengler, a daring and original Russian thinker and writer, Constantine Leontyev, in his book entitled *Orient Russia and Slavdom* (1885) propounded the theory of the wave-cycles of cultures and civilizations. A culture, he said, is a period of a rich and complex process of florescence which has developed from primary simplicity. When the time of bloom is over, it is transformed into civilization, which is the period of drab uniformity—in other words, of senility and death. And Leontyev saw the death of the spirit, of the creative power in a Europe so vastly different from the Europe of the Renaissance of Michaelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci, from the Catholic Europe of the Middle Ages with its religious ecstasy forever caught in the Gothic cathedrals, its troubadours, its traditions of chivalry. The religious and aristocratic culture of Europe turned into a drab and sterile civilization under the impact of the godless bourgeois who had cut the glorious traditions to fit his own size. The Right of Man degenerated into license and vulgarity to suit the average Westerner with his pallid vices and diluted virtues. And Leontyev hoped that the rich and complex process of florescence was still possible for Russia, if she would avoid the pitfalls of European civilization, "that noisy, rattling train of the West."

Spengler, reiterating the same theme, claimed that Russia, by adopting the Western mode of life, would lose her strong national characteristics and deviate from her natural historical development.

Both Spengler and Leontyev feared the imminent victory of the "godless" civilization. Both felt that the day of our present history is fading. In the blood-red sunset they saw the deepening shadows of the evening that will be followed by a long night. Only Leontyev, philosopher and Christian, sought consolation in faith. Spengler admitted the existence of the *Urseele*—the Universal Soul containing everything that is, has been or ever will be. Yet he saw no bridge between philosophy and religion, and found no consolation.

The destiny of the two books, despite the likeness of the

subject, was quite different. Leontyev's work was branded as reactionary by his compatriots and promptly forgotten. A brilliant thinker, surpassing his contemporaries in originality and talent, he was misunderstood by the Russians, who always shrank from the very thought of narrow nationalism. Constantine Leontyev was merely pointing out that *only* the universal idea can foster national growth.

The *Decline of the West* made Spengler famous in the whole civilized world. A star of first magnitude in his own right, he was not directly influenced by Leontyev. He did not know Russian, but other German scholars did. The ideas of the unfettered Russian thinker and his predecessors had been known in Germany for a long time. Undoubtedly, they were known to Spengler too, whose magnificent book, by a strange trick of destiny, revived interest in Leontyev.

OTHER RUSSIAN PROPHETS

The name of Constantine Leontyev is closely linked with that of Nikolay Danilevsky, who was considered his teacher and his inspiration. Danilevsky carried the idealistic impulse of the previous generation to the gloomy days of Alexander III. In his chief work, *Russia and Europe*, he, too, pointed out the multiform aspects of cultures and civilizations, only some of which are fated to become "cultural and historical types." His ideas are traceable in Nietzsche and Spengler.

Danilevsky disliked the West for its leveling tendencies and wished that Russia would follow her natural historical path. A less creative mind than Leontyev, he nevertheless links him with the Slavophils, an important ideological movement that was born in Russia around 1830. The Slavophils opposed close association with Western Europe because of the tragic conflict which was tearing the Occidental civilization apart. They warned their compatriots against the contamination with the bourgeois mind, and glorified Byzantium, which for them was a universal symbol, as years later Rome became a universal symbol for Vladimir Solovyev. Their ideas provoked an immediate reaction.

Peter Chaadaev, an officer of the Hussars, produced a remarkable work as a result of his meditations on history. His *Lettres Philosophiques*, though only four in number, were of tremendous significance. Chaadaev deplored the infirmity of old traditions, which were merely the remnant of the disintegrated Byzantine Empire. He made no attempt to conceal his admiration for the West and for Roman Catholicism, and became an acknowledged leader of the early Westernizers in strong opposition to the Slavophils.

The Hussar Chaadaev recalls to mind another dashing Hussar, Mikhail Lermontov, who did not belong to either of the ideological groups, but was one of the greatest poets the earth has ever known. The exquisite music of his verse reveals profound philosophical meditation. Through the contours of everyday ugliness he discerned eternity, and in his quest for beauty he took an attitude towards life and humanity that years later was reflected in the ideas of Nietzsche. The traditions of the eighteenth century, which still lingered in Russia throughout the reign of Alexander I, had faded away at the time of Lermontov. The rising "plebeian intelligentsia," ever since the failure of the Decembrist Revolt in 1825, had no use for meditation and beauty. The "Thinking Realists," as they called themselves, advocated exact science as the only way to wipe out ignorance and superstition. They were soon followed by "Repentant Noblemen" who carried the idea of social guilt as their most treasured possession.

Above Chaadaev and the Slavophils looms the gigantic shadow of Vladimir Solovyev, who, too, remained unknown

to the West. Solovyev, a foremost scholar and mystic, proponent of the doctrine of Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, pointed to the crisis of Western philosophy which was acceptable as long as it remained *ancilla Theologiae*, but failed when it became independent. To the growing utilitarian positivism he opposed the idea of universal theocracy with its center in Rome as the symbol of Christian unity. Like Dostoyevsky, he stressed the historical and universal mission of Russia—a strong, dynamic state of extraordinary complexity and irreconcilable paradoxes, utterly incomprehensible to an outsider.

Now Russia has relinquished her juvenile rôle. The prestige of her arms is as great as the appeal that Dialectic Materialism seems to have for the masses. If she has not taken the path advocated by Dostoyevsky and Vladimir Solovyev, Russia, nevertheless, has remained true to her cherished dream of the universal brotherhood of man, and this dream may become a reality. A boundless land, one-sixth of the globe, stretching from the Gulf of Finland to the Pacific, from the icy Arctic to the orange groves on the Black Sea, it is Russia which to a large extent will determine the future destinies of the world.

Humanity is witnessing the greatest catastrophe that ever befell this much suffering planet. In recent years tremendous technical development has surpassed by far the moral evolution of man. Unheard-of horrors and cruelty can in the end do nothing but dehumanize human beings, lead to other more terrible wars, to greater destruction, and engulf the whole world in chaos and disintegration. What will be the stand of America's most powerful ally in the weeks and months to come is a pertinent question. Has Russia grown up to maturity in the years of struggle? Will the voice of one of her greatest sons be heard in the universal conflagration—the voice of Leo Tolstoy?

An ominous red cloud has risen on the horizon; humanity faces it with awe. Is it the glow of an early morning presaging a beautiful day, or the stormy sunset foreseen by Leontyev and Spengler that will be followed by a long night of another Dark Ages? Will the old Russian dream of world brotherhood become, ironically, the seed of universal hate?

We cannot know. Mother Russia, with her complex national destiny, has always been unpredictable.

THE BLACK LEGEND

RONALD BARON

IT IS UNDENIABLE that in the Anglo-Saxon world Spain "gets a bad press." This fact goes far beyond current dissensions over the origin, form and actions of the present Spanish Government, but is a phenomenon that has existed for fully four hundred years. In the writing of South-American history there has been a systematic attempt to vilify Spain, to present the Spanish conquest of the Americas as an enterprise of rapacity and cruelty, the Spanish colonial administration as inefficient, corrupt and tyrannous, and the missionary activities of the Spanish Church as a sinister influence of superstition and obscurantism. This historical phenomenon is known to historians as "The Black Legend." Although the inaccuracy of this picture of Spanish colonial achievement, drawn with clearly established propagandist motives, has been conclusively demonstrated and is disowned by all reputable historians and Hispanic scholars today, nevertheless it still has great influence in the minds of the general public, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world.

There has recently appeared in Buenos Aires the first fully documented "History of the Black Legend" (R. Carbó:

Historia de la Leyenda Negra Hispano-Americana, Ediciones Orientación Española, Buenos Aires, 1943. Until his death in June, 1944, Dr. Carbía was Professor of History in the University of Buenos Aires, and an acknowledged authority on Spanish Colonial History. As it deals with a matter in which the Catholic Church is deeply implicated, the following brief study of this interesting and valuable work is offered to the readers of AMERICA by an Anglican lover of the Spanish Christian tradition.

ORIGIN OF LEGEND

The origin of the "Black Legend" is to be found almost entirely in one source. This is the book, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, written by Bartolomé de Las Casas in 1542, and published ten years later. Las Casas was a Dominican Friar who ultimately became a Bishop, and who worked as a missionary in the West Indies and Central America. Desiring to stir up the sympathy of the King and people of Spain for the natives of the Indies, and to secure for them the best possible treatment, he resorted to writing a rather violent and extravagant account of their alleged sufferings, accusing the Spanish conquerors and administrators of the systematic extermination of the natives with the most horrible cruelties. His strong language undoubtedly lent itself readily to propaganda. Subsequent editions in most European languages clearly indicated their propaganda purpose by changes in the title (A French edition published at Lyons in 1594 bore the title: *Histoire admirable des horribles insolences, cruaitez et tyrannies exercées par les Espagnoles és Indes occidentales*, and similar titles were given to subsequent editions in Dutch, German and Latin), and by the addition of a set of gruesome illustrations furnished with tendentious captions.

Dr. Carbía distinguishes three main classes of people whose propaganda purpose has necessitated the discrediting of Spain, and to whom the *Brevísima* has been useful.

The first of these anti-Spanish movements was associated with the Protestant Reformation in which, especially in England and the Low Countries, the attack upon Spain's religion and resistance to Spain's political domination were inextricably interwoven. It was necessary in the interest of this movement to be able to show that the political rule of Spain meant a cruel and barbarous tyranny which Spain's religion, so far from softening, only intensified.

The second anti-Spanish movement was that which produced the revolt of the Spanish Colonies against the Spanish Crown and the winning of their independence. No one doubts today that the aspirations of these young offshoots of the Hispanic stock were as justified as were the thirteen English colonies of North America, whose successful revolt had set them the example. But those active in these independence movements naturally felt the need to draw upon all the resources they could to justify their action and gain sympathy and recognition abroad. Accordingly, the "Black Legend" was strongly emphasized and the testimony of Las Casas constantly invoked to prove that Spain's rule in the New World was founded on blood and oppression.

The third anti-Spanish movement was the political ideology of "Liberalism" which, rooted in the atheistic ideas of the French Revolution, denied any spiritual basis to society and to the authority of the State. Such an outlook is in manifest opposition to the essentially Christian traditions of Spain and, for it to prosper in Spanish America, those traditions must clearly be invalidated and obliterated. For this purpose the "Black Legend" lay ready to hand and has been, and is to this day, widely exploited by those who support the "Liberal" and oppose the Catholic conception of society.

It was not to be expected that so gross and palpable a lie should remain forever unchallenged; and indeed we find, very soon after the first publication of Las Casas' work, members of the earliest expeditions to the Indies taking up the pen in their own defense. An example is Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a captain who took part in the Conquest of Mexico under Cortés, and whose *Verdadera y notable relación* was written soon after 1552. But the honor of being the first to give a full and detailed exposure of the lie of the "Black Legend," based on scientific historical method, belongs to no less unlikely a person than a Scotch Presbyterian Minister, William Robertson, whose *History of America* was published in London in 1777. The fact that Robertson was by race and religion far from having any ax to grind for Spain, gives special value to his testimony about the sincere Christian missionary spirit underlying the Spanish conquest of America and the humane principles of Spain's colonial administration. Of Spanish historians, perhaps the most noteworthy is Juan Bautista Muñoz, whose *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* began to be published in 1793. The wealth of scholarship that went into this work can be judged by the fact that the writer's notes alone fill about one hundred volumes, preserved in the library of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid. The work of Robertson and Muñoz has been continued to this day by a long series of scholars of many nations and of many religious and political viewpoints. A full account of this work is to be found in Dr. Carbía's book.

HISTORY'S VERDICT ON "LEGEND"

The final conclusion of historical scholarship on the "Black Legend" may be summarized as follows.

1. The "Black Legend" is a concoction without historical foundation which has served as a weapon to attack Spain, and often the Catholic Church. Indeed it may be said that, apart from the political movements in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century, and in the American Colonies in the nineteenth, the chief motive behind the "Legend" has been religious controversy in which Spain and the Catholic Church have been identified as one and the same thing.

2. The testimony of Las Casas has manifestly been put to propaganda use.

3. The Spanish conquest of America was carried out by men of the time according to the methods of the time, and the circumstances varied from place to place and from time to time according to local conditions. The one thing certain, however, is that the colonizing work of Spain was distinguished throughout by a strong sense of missionary responsibility and a humanitarian idealism which were distinctly in advance of the spirit of the age. The excesses of individual *conquistadores* were never the policy of the Spanish Government and the Catholic Church, as the "Legend" maintains, but were anti-Spanish crimes and anti-Catholic sins which Church and State strove to repress and reform.

4. Likewise, the Spanish Colonial administration throughout its three hundred years corresponded fully to the best contemporary practice of such colonial Powers as England, France and Holland, differing only in that Spain gave the natives an equality of rights with Spanish settlers which the British Empire to this day denies the natives of South Africa.

"*La Leyenda . . . es una auténtica patraña que no puede tener cabida ya en ninguna mente culta, cualquiera que sea su posición ideológica.*" (The Legend . . . is a pure fake for which there can no longer be any room in any educated mind, whatever its ideological position.) This is Dr. Carbía's last word. Nevertheless, despite its complete lack of foundation in history, the "Black Legend" is still a force to be reckoned with in the contemporary world.

THE WORLD'S STAKE IN INDIA'S PROSPERITY

PAREKUNNEL J. THOMAS

INDIA is predominantly an agricultural country, with about seventy per cent of its population depending on agriculture and only about ten per cent on manufactures. Agriculture is largely of the self-sufficient kind, farmers raising crops mostly for their own consumption with only a small proportion for money crops. The level of agricultural production is low, and most workers are unemployed for several months in the year. Thus for long there has been great pressure on land.

Since World War I, however, much progress has been made in large-scale industry, chiefly under the influence of the protective tariff. At first the progress was confined to consumer-goods industries, like cotton textiles, sugar, matches, jute manufactures, etc. Gradually, durable goods like iron and steel, cement, etc., came to be taken up, and striking advance was made in these basic industries before the war. The extent of progress could be gauged from the fact that, at the outbreak of war, India produced all its sugar, cement and matches, the great bulk of its textiles, and a good part of its iron and steel.

The pace of progress has greatly quickened during World War II. Owing chiefly to the difficulty in obtaining important strategic materials from abroad in the critical year of 1942, India began certain manufactures hitherto considered impracticable—special steels, machine tools, electrical goods, fine chemicals, etc. In this way, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, basic chemicals and engineering industries have made substantial progress within a short time, and these developments will stand the country in good stead when postwar planning is taken up. Not only in basic industries, but in the consumption-goods industries also, the progress has been rapid lately, particularly silk, plywood, footwear, clothing, etc. The exclusion of cheap Japanese goods from India since 1942 has been of great help in developing these industries, and it is hoped that freedom from Japanese competition will be assured after the war.

In spite of recent industrial expansion, the total volume of production still remains small and, as trade, transport and other services are undeveloped, the national income remains low, hardly \$30 per head per annum before the war. International comparisons of national income are defective as a test of economic condition, but the standard of living, a better test, is miserably low in India, as can be seen from the low per-capita-consumption figures of even necessities.

FOREIGN TRADE

The external trade of a country with such a standard cannot be large. Before the war it amounted to only one billion dollars per annum, or \$2.50 per head. This is about one-seventh of the external trade of the United States, although India's population is three times that of this country. With about 20 per cent of the world's population, India has hardly five per cent of the world's trade.

India's import trade is meager because the great majority of people live on the margin of subsistence and there is no effective demand for many of the goods necessary for a reasonable living standard. Demand can grow only when incomes rise through more production. Then not only will imports increase, but India will also be able to export more to pay for her imports. India has ample natural resources and an abundant labor force, but much of both labor and resources lies idle or is being inefficiently utilized; conse-

quently both production and incomes are meager. Such employment as there is, results in low production per man-hour, as most workers labor without machine aid.

Plans are now being made for the economic development of India. First, a few leading industrialists issued the "Bombay Plan," and then several other plans appeared. Government is now busy drawing up its own plan, based largely on the non-official plans. The central objective is to raise the living standards of the masses by giving fuller employment to human and material resources. This would involve great effort, spread over many years, and large investments will be needed in agriculture and industries, in roads, railways, irrigation works and hydro-electrical works, all of which are essential for fuller employment and higher income.

FULL EMPLOYMENT IS INDIVISIBLE

While the economic development of India is primarily the concern of the people of that country, a little thought will convince one that it must also be the concern of other countries, because the economic backwardness of thickly populated countries like India is a serious drag on the stability of world economy, and defeats all efforts at utilizing modern scientific progress for the welfare of man. In Western Europe and in North America, productive capacity has been expanded tremendously by use of power-driven machinery. This has enabled these areas to push down production costs, to raise wages and to increase profits at the same time—but it has also brought about unemployment, not only cyclical but also perennial. In the early 'thirties there were 10 million unemployed in the United States and more than two million in the United Kingdom, because there was no effective demand for the goods produced. Not only did the depression keep many workers idle, it led to destruction of valuable goods produced in America, while in India and China large numbers of people were starving for want of such goods. It caused serious economic rivalries between the nations, and is largely responsible for World War II. The root cause of this was the meager demand, especially in thickly populated countries of the East. American productive capacity has increased even more abundantly during this war and, if this weakness of world economy is not removed, more serious consequences may follow after this war.

Full employment, like peace, is indivisible. You cannot have full employment in America if Europe is groveling in unemployment and misery. You cannot maintain full employment in Europe and America unless the large populations of India and China (about two-fifths of the world's total) are more fully employed. Hence the need for international cooperation for full employment and for raising living standards. A sure way of avoiding another world depression is a fairly rapid economic development of India and China.

Look at this problem from the point of view of the United States. Today, India's trade with America is not very large. India exports some raw jute and jute manufactured goods, minerals like manganese and mica, foodstuffs like tea and cashew nuts. In return, the United States sends to India several kinds of finished goods, including machinery and machine parts, certain minerals, etc. The smallness of this trade is due to the undeveloped state of India, its low national income and poor living standards. If proper plans of development are carried out, India's working population will be more fully employed, the national income can be greatly increased and the living standard of the masses substantially raised. This would create an extensive demand, first for machinery, machine tools and other production goods and, second, for high-grade consumption goods like radios, elec-

trical goods, air-conditioning equipment, etc. Such goods will eventually be paid for by exports from India in goods for the production of which India has an advantage.

Superficial observers often consider the economic development of the East a menace to Western industry, but that this is far from true is now understood by shrewd businessmen in the United Kingdom and in the United States. In fact, the economic development of the East is the only way to make mass production profitable and stable in the West. The fear of Anglo-American rivalry in this matter is largely exaggerated because, when India's development is under way, our needs will be so large and varied that there will be ample scope for imports, not only from the United Kingdom and the United States but from other countries also.

This is the central problem of world economy today—to create full employment in all countries so that purchasing power and living standards may rise. It must be the chief aim of any world economic organization, and it is gratifying to note that this fact has been recognized by the world leaders assembled in San Francisco, as indicated by the latest resolution of one of its important committees. Even a cursory review of the events of the inter-war years will convince anyone that it was economic maladjustments that ultimately led to political trouble between countries. By close international cooperation, the inflation of the early 'twenties and the great depression of the early 'thirties could have been averted. It was the rigidity of markets that led to competitive currency depreciations and to restrictive trade practices like high tariffs, quotas, licensing of exports and imports, etc. If the United Nations Conference can set up an organization for effective international cooperation, not only can much misery be averted, but the many persistent causes of war can be removed. This implies some limitation of national sovereignty over large areas of economic policy, but such a curb on the economic freedom of nations will bring about prosperity for all, and its absence will keep all down.

As the country with the largest equipment for industrial production, the United States has a great duty to discharge to the world as a whole. It is often pointed out by the leaders of this country that full employment in America is a great asset to the world because of the large part it plays in world economy. What is often not realized is that the highest production per man-hour is a great achievement of this country, but it cannot be put to capital use until other countries are able steadily to absorb your large surplus production. In this light, the early economic development of India and China must be of vital concern to the United States, and such development cannot take place within a reasonable time unless large investments of external capital are made in these countries. Such investments, if carefully made, can be a source of lasting advantage both to the country that receives and to the country that gives.

Speaking for India, I may say that, considering the large external credits accumulated by her during the war and the substantial economic equipment already available, India ought to be a very good field of investment for the surplus capital of other countries. Even without external capital, India will carry out her development program by a grim determination to save at the expense of consumption but, if the country is to serve as a stabilizing economic factor in world economy soon enough, development must be fairly rapid. India's credit is now higher than ever among the nations, and there is also now a determination to develop her resources. It is my hope that, during the coming years, a great economic development will take place in India which will not only benefit our teeming millions but will also contribute substantially to world prosperity.

LET'S HEAR FROM NEGRO YOUTH

EDGAR SHAUGHNESSY

DO WHITE AMERICANS really care to know what black Americans want? The desires of the Negro tenth of our country are a major factor in the general social picture of the nation. They may be found clearly set forth in many articles and several books published since the beginning of the war. How many take the trouble to read and learn?

There is in this country what you might call a school of thought which insists that the great majority of ordinary Negroes are not really very conscious of the distance between themselves and the white race. Or, it is said, if they are conscious of it, they are little concerned with such things as segregation and discrimination.

What foundation has such an opinion? Except among the lowest class of Negroes, concentrated in the outlying farm and rural districts where they have had no opportunity for an education, it has absolutely no basis of fact to stand upon. If those who think that way would take the pains to investigate the mind of the Negro, they would drop the opinion like the old hot potato.

The writer has had opportunity to talk with many Negroes—among the working people and among the more educated. He has also recently finished a survey of some four hundred Negro boys and girls of high-school age. A test was given to all to ascertain just what are the attitudes of the colored to current conditions, to the efforts being made to better relations between the races, and to the chances for and means of improving the situation.

In *What the Negro Wants*, published last year by the Chapel Hill Press, a convincing picture of the unanimity of Negro leaders was presented. A careful study of this book would show white men that outstanding Negroes—leaders at least in thought, if not in organized efforts—are definitely conscious of the problem, have solutions, good and bad.

A like unanimity and awareness characterized the findings of the present writer. It is not just the radical Northern Negro, or the white-baiting Negro editor, who realizes that the Negroes are treated unjustly, that they are denied basic rights. High-school freshmen and juniors and seniors would startle the average citizen if the amount of thought they give to the subject were known. It is rather foolish to believe that people who are up against a certain problem every day of their lives, who daily suffer its effects, are not conscious of its existence and have no views about it.

High-school students, by common account, have scarcely an ounce of sense in their young heads. All the more striking, therefore, are the sobriety and maturity of the comments of these boys and girls. Granting that they have many of their ideas from their teachers, their insistence shows they have learned their lesson well, and are putting it into practice.

Over fifty per cent of the four hundred high-school students questioned about what sort of equality they most wanted, answered "equality before the law and in voting." They feel they are not given an equal chance by the white police, and that they cannot count on a fair hearing in the courts, because a white man's word almost always outweighs theirs. They feel that disfranchisement is one of the main obstacles to obtaining their other rights as citizens. They want to vote when they fill the just requirements; 98 per cent of them do. Over 75 percent of them want to be able to vote Negroes into public office in communities where they are in the majority. A tenth-grade girl said:

Justice can help the Negro race most. No one likes to be pushed, hollered at and talked about without any reason for it. Everyone wants to be treated as a human being. The colored people in the South cannot fight back because they know they will not get justice in the courts. If they could get justice, the other things they need would not be so hard to get.

A seventeen-year-old boy promised:

If justice were given the Negroes before the laws and judges, we would be more friendly and cooperative with the whites.

Another girl, a junior, said:

I think justice and an opportunity to vote can help most. We Negroes do not ask for equality in social life nor do we ask for superiority over all, but give us an equal chance in voting, justice and education.

One hundred and thirty-one of those questioned answered that equality in jobs and wages was most important. They feel that if their economic status is raised, they will be able to ask more effectively for their other rights. They were almost unanimous in saying that Negroes should be eligible for better jobs. Only 23.7 per cent thought that the wages now paid to Negroes laborers are just. With higher wages will come the better homes they all want, and the better medical care which 75 per cent find difficult to receive and 32 per cent find too expensive.

Some put social equality at the head of the list. And here may be a good place to consider that old bugbear of the South (and, be it said, of the North too). Some Negroes say they want social equality, others protest vehemently that they do not. I believe they all do, really. This calls for an understanding of what is meant by social equality. If inter-marriage is meant, and intimate social relations forced on unwilling whites, then that is not what the Negro is striving for. If, though, we mean equal rights in social institutions that are entirely public, such as theatres, libraries, schools, churches, public transportation, public buildings, etc., then the Negroes, all Negroes, want social equality. When asked whether the Negro and white races should be kept separate, only 8.3 per cent answered in the affirmative. Only 18.4 per cent believe that there should be separate theatres, buses, hotels, etc. Only 10 per cent said that they would want a new home in a white neighborhood, but 55 per cent would like to live in a mixed section. In general, most feel that they are the same kind of Americans that whites are, and see no reason why special places should be set aside for them.

An indication of the good sense and maturity of the answers is seen in the fact that over half agree that in the long run the Negro race must be helped most of all by the Negroes themselves. They also agree in their choice of a means to help themselves—education. The number of those who stress a good education as the best way to raise their race and make it worthy and capable of equal rights and duties is striking. They realize that it has been largely due to lack of learning that their parents were unable to progress more. They see that it is the educated Negro who is listened to by his own race and by the whites. They know that in these days the man who wants the best job must have the best training.

Visiting some of the Negro schools, the writer was impressed by the seriousness with which most of the students apply themselves to their school work. At one public school visited, fifty or sixty per cent of the graduating class go on to college, and a few years ago ninety per cent of a class of 72 went on to higher studies. This is an enviable record. The application and efforts of the students are more impressive still when seen in the light of the conditions they have to

face: equipment and school buildings in most cases very poor, always inadequate. In one private school there were 120 children packed into one room, juniors facing one way, seniors the other. At this school they pay two dollars a month, a real sacrifice for many.

Here I quote some of the children on education. A girl, a freshman, says:

The thing that I think will help the Negro most is education. Of course, he must have some money too. But education will get him some of the rights he wants and will carry him where money won't.

A sixteen-year-old girl says:

One of the best ways of helping the Negro race is for all the Negro boys and girls who have an opportunity of getting an education to take advantage of it.

A seventeen-year-old senior says:

Education would help our race to vote intelligently, act intelligently on public issues and in our own community talk intelligently with white people. Lack of education is holding back lots from some people of our race and the white race.

Another:

An ignorant person is not able to take advantage of the opportunities offered to him. Education will help us understand the importance of voting, help us spend our money wisely, and also teach us to love our country and what it means to be an American citizen.

There is always a catch, however. There are not many openings for the educated Negro. Negro youth want at least elementary and secondary training; and they want also an opportunity to put their training, achieved in the great majority of cases at much personal sacrifice, into practice. If they are professional men, they want a chance to practise their profession, an opportunity seldom found in the South. Most Negro college graduates are forced by circumstances to go North to live, even though they want to stay here in the South to help their own people. Things are made too difficult for them. A Negro lawyer who is not even allowed in the courtroom has no choice but to leave.

About 78 per cent said that there was a good chance for Negro boys and girls to become lawyers, doctors, nurses, etc. However, one principal informed me that the greatest number of those who enter any of the professions except teaching and preaching stay in the North after they finish school there, or go North if they have graduated from a Southern college. One student said:

You can't make any use of your education because the whites won't give you a chance to.

Another said:

Education would help us very much if we only had the chance to practise our vocations, for which we are best fitted.

Many have this "what's-the-use" attitude.

Doctor Gunnar Myrdal, in his book, *An American Dilemma*, points out that if the Negro is to be kept forever on the bottom of the social heap, he should never have been allowed any education. Education in America imparts American ideals. It is only natural that when the Negro comes in contact with these ideals in school, he will see the discrepancy between them and actual practice. Thus education will increase his desires, show him what could and should be his, show him the way to obtain it, increase his discontent with present conditions. Now that the greater part of the American Negro population knows and is asking for American rights, there is only one solution—give them their rights. It is too late to try to hide them.

CHINA RE-VIEWED

THERE HAS BEEN a new note in most recent reporting on China, a very friendly and laudatory note. China has grown hugely in importance in the last few months. Not that China and China's part in the war have ever been unimportant. Now, however, with our forces in the Pacific drawing ever closer to Japan, aiming perhaps at bases in China, the importance is there for all to see.

Unless China can achieve stability, there will be no peace in the Orient. A troubled Orient means eventual war for the entire world.

China unaided cannot possibly achieve that necessary stability. The war with Japan came upon her when she was totally unprepared for war. It had been preceded by long years of internal strife, marauding armies, banditry and widespread destitution. The years allowed to Chiang Kai-shek and his National Government had been too pitifully few for the gigantic task of achieving Chinese unity and the complete reorganization of the country.

Japanese armies, with all their weapons of destruction and death, have swept back and forth over this unhappy land. No matter how long they might have been denied complete victory by the tenacious fighting and the patient suffering of the Chinese, at least they were sure of preventing for many decades to come anything like the resurrection of a stable and powerful China.

Now, however, resurrection is in sight. Chinese armies, reorganized and newly equipped, are not only holding their own; they are driving back the Japanese. China's importance is growing day by day in the eyes of the world; and the world is showing a new eagerness to pour help into China. American officers are weeding out, regrouping and training Chinese troops in all the latest techniques of modern warfare. American industrial experts and technical engineers are planning with the Chinese the reorganization of war industries which will eventually become peace industries. Russian interest and Russian eagerness to help account for the presence in Moscow of Premier Soong. In addition to memories of Russian hospitality, he will undoubtedly take back to China with him a Russian-Chinese pact, or at least a fairly detailed outline of a pact to be negotiated in the not-too-distant future.

All of this brings another element into the situation. China wants, and deserves, not only help; she wants recognition of her own dignity and independence, the right not to be dominated or controlled even by those who so generously offer her help. It is safe to say that the Government which has carried China through the war to date is determined that only China shall be master in China.

The Chinese remember that the Japanese struck precisely when they did because they saw that China had already begun her march along the road to peace and recovery. Slow as the pace necessarily was, the Japanese were convinced that it was a steady pace, gradually accelerating, and they struck lest the pace accelerate so fast that attack might sooner or later become an impossibility. Deep down in the depths of their misery the Chinese know that they had made a good beginning under the National Government. Even recognizing their great need of outside help, they feel that they have it in themselves to organize and rebuild their own country. They have no more intention of yielding their country to the domination of the Allied Nations than they had of yielding it to Japan.

The acceptance of help, they know, is insidious. As in Europe and the Mediterranean and in Africa, so, too, in China

and all the Orient, two great forces are striving for mastery—the totalitarian ideal of the successful Soviet, and the democratic ideal of the victorious Western democracies.

The future of China, though not dominated, will be deeply influenced by one of the two. A short time ago it seemed that Russia intended to make her bid for influence or domination through the Communist Chinese Army and the Yenan regime. The Western democracies, under the leadership of the United States, evidently forestalled this by throwing in their lot very strongly with the National Government of Chungking, strengthening its army, giving it all possible cooperation. Momentarily, at least, Russia seems to have abandoned open advocacy of the Communist faction and is attempting negotiations with Chungking.

The Chungking Government, conscious of its own weaknesses, bolstered by the strong support of the United States and the loyalty of a great part of the Chinese people, assiduously wooed by Russia, is now in the strongest position of its career. Many battles, military and diplomatic, will be fought before an independent, stable nation emerges; but for the first time in many years hope is dawning for China.

MR. WHITE AND THE REDS

IN THE FOUR MONTHS since Mr. W. L. White published his *Report on the Russians*, an extraordinary campaign against book and author has been developing. Not only has the book been reviewed rather savagely, but the unusual spectacle has appeared of group reviews, of group action, in opposition. The *Saturday Review of Literature*, for example, carried five reviews together in one issue. Various Friends-of-Russia groups, councils on American-Soviet friendship, and similar organizations have published whole brochures of statements to confute Mr. White's statements. Protesting letters to editors have been so numerous that their writing seems an organized affair.

What has Mr. White done? In a minor book, that does not pretend to be searching, scholarly or definitive, he has recounted many things about Russians, personal and national, which he saw and did not like. For that, he has been charged with Fascism, hostility to the United Nations, sabotage of the war effort.

Now, we are not particularly interested here in the Russians as they appear in Mr. White's book; we are vitally interested in some Americans as they reveal themselves about the book. We would like to ask those Americans two questions: are you interested in the truth about the Russians or merely in whether authors are or are not pro-Russian? Second, are you devoted to the principle of freedom of the press or merely to leeway for only pro-Russian views?

If you are interested in the truth, then many a book, written by enthusiasts for the Soviet, should have drawn your impartial thunders. *The Soviet Power*, by the "Red Dean" of Canterbury, Dr. Hewlett Johnson, contained more serious errors than can be found in Mr. White's statements that Russians never smile, etc. But the "Red Dean" in all his errors was sympathetic; Mr. White, even though what he reports be true, is unsympathetic. Mr. White, therefore, is to be damned.

If you are genuinely interested in freedom of the press, why be aghast that Mr. White has said of Russia some of the things that are allowed to be said even within Russia

itself? As Manya Gordon, writing in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for May 19, brings out (and we have this from other sources, too), a Soviet author, Natalia Pflaumer, has revealed in her *My Family*, widely circulated in the USSR, social conditions that are deplorable. To date this book, despite numerous attempts, has yet to find an American publisher. Are Mr. White's critics ready to applaud freedom of the press in Russia, but to shrink from its impartial application here?

The entire intemperate reaction to a book that pretends to do no more than merely record the impressions of a six weeks' trip sets a dangerous precedent. If Mr. White's attackers have not succeeded in intimidating the publisher, they have certainly given other firms a broad hint that only books sympathetic to their brand of sympathy can escape their very articulate wrath; they have certainly issued a warning to prospective authors. Can it be that there is an American intellectual OGPU?

THE FOOD PROBLEM

IN A RADIO ADDRESS on assuming his duties as Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton P. Anderson assured us that improvements in the food situation would be forthcoming, but he also warned that they must not be expected tomorrow. As a former member of the House Food Investigating Committee, functioning since March, he knows the many factors involved in the present shortages and realizes they will take months to straighten out.

As former War Food Administrator Marvin Jones—now back in his original job in the Federal Court of Claims—recently pointed out, some scarcity was inevitable from the very fact of our war effort. We had to meet the needs of the armed forces, increased consumption at home and relief shipments to destitute nations abroad. Moreover, large quantities of sugar, wheat and corn had to be diverted to the manufacture of alcohol, synthetic rubber and penicillin, even when most in demand by civilian consumers.

In retrospect it can be argued that other shortages could have been avoided were it not for paralyzing drains on farm manpower and restrictions on production and distribution of farm machinery, which did not always take into consideration the complicated nature of modern farming and the long-term planning which it demands. Some confusion and mistakes were inevitable in view of the complexity of the whole price control program. Despite this handicap the nation's farmers, aware of their responsibility, produced record crops.

Fortunately for the new Secretary of Agriculture, a number of these restrictions and organizational difficulties have now been removed. The War Food Administration is brought under his authority and he is given power over food regulations and price ceilings on agricultural products. Yet, even with these added powers, the Secretary of Agriculture has a long, hard job before him in attempting to satisfy the not too understanding demands of irritated consumers for food. Secretary Anderson has gone on record as intending to cooperate closely with Mr. Bowles of OPA and to be judicious in using the wide authority given him over food. The consumers will have to give his program a chance and not encourage black market activities by circumventing the controls made necessary by war.

WHILE the United Nations Conference was under way, the public was incessantly reminded that the matter of boundaries, reparations, transfers of population and other issues traditionally linked with the end of wars, was not within the scope of the delegates of fifty nations assembled at San Francisco. The Conference just held in that city was for the purpose of drawing up the charter of an international security organization, not to make a treaty of peace with our vanquished foes in Europe.

The imminent meeting of the Big Three in Berlin reminds us that the questions ruled out of consideration by the conferees at San Francisco are once again to the point. It is probable that the Big Three will decide to convoke the long-postponed Peace Conference some time in the Fall to settle the estate of the late dictators of Germany and Italy.

What will be on the agenda of the actual Peace Conference? First of all, there will be the problem of settling the western borders of the new Poland. It seems agreed that to "compensate" Poland for its losses in the East, Germany shall be made to pay in the West. Poland may stretch to the Oder River.

There are claims for German territory in the Lowlands being raised by Belgium and the Netherlands. France may have something to say, too.

The armistice terms with Italy have never been published and probably are not final. Most of the Italian colonies of North Africa will be disposed of. To whom? Under what conditions? Will they be turned over to the trusteeship system of the new Organization? In addition to these questions, the fate of certain Italian islands in the Mediterranean is also in doubt.

In the case of both Germany and Italy there will be questions of reparation—no easy topic, as we know from experience. And the Allies will want to make clear their right of temporary occupation of the defeated countries and of supervision of their industry.

Along with agreements reached with the vanquished enemies there will be accords reached between the present Allies. The question of absorption of the Baltic Republics into the Soviet Union is still unresolved as far as Britain and the United States are concerned. While these are not matters for a peace treaty with our enemies, they are part of the picture and of the policy to be pursued by this country in winding up the business in Europe.

Consummate skill must be exercised by President Truman and his advisers in plotting his course at the Peace Conference of 1945. The Treaty (or treaties, more likely) which he will present to the Senate for ratification by the necessary two-thirds vote must respond to the ideals of the American people and, by the same token, must satisfy what the nation regards as the minimum for its own safety and well-being. At the same time the new map of Europe and North Africa, which this nation is called upon to assist in redrawing, must be based on concepts of justice and drawn with due regard for the legitimate aspirations of all peoples, large or small, victors or vanquished, in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter.

It is true that the United Nations Organization will not be called upon to guarantee such boundaries. The belligerents have reserved to themselves the right to dispose of the territories in question. But the Organization must dispel international tensions that may possibly result from these settlements, whether with our Allies or with our defeated foes. President Truman's unenviable task will be to patch together out of conflicting political ambitions a peace treaty that will not defy all curative treatment by the new Organization.

LITERATURE AND ART

A DREAM OF A REVIEW

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY

EERIE INDEED and dim with streaming mists is the land of dreams. It is still, with all deference to certain subtler branches of the new psychology, the undiscoverable country from whose bourne few travelers return with anything like coherent reminiscences or illuminating travelogs. Freud, to be sure, stood forth as another Captain Cook in the exploration of that crepuscular Xanadu to which the bed is bridge and unconsciousness the passport; but, despite his contributions, there are still those who regard his charting of the subliminal as something akin to the indigestion of an opium-eater, and these intransigents as yet prefer to dip into delirium with DeQuincey. Moving with ponderous ease through the twilight kingdoms, Chesterton returned with a fairly satisfying treatise in *Dreams* and a galloping story of *The Taming of the Nightmare*, which features Jack Horner as jockey extraordinary. But most parties that push into those nebulous interiors either are never heard from again or return maunding.

Very interesting, then, is the recent experience of a literary critic we know. In line of duty, as well as for pleasure, he has to read a great deal of modern poetry. Not long ago he awoke with a complete book review in his head, etched unforgettable, complete to minutest detail. The odd part of it is that it is a supposititious review of a non-existent book, the elfin prank of some Oberon of the subconscious. The critic has asked us to reproduce it here, in the hope that another Joseph may arise to interpret it. We reprint it exactly as it sprang, full-flowered, from his mind. . . .

HAIR-DO FOR A MAENAD. By *Harriet Witte*. The Cyderhead Press. \$2

In this, her second book, Miss Witte has abundantly harvested the rich promise of *Gaiters for Apollo*, with which, some two years ago, she startled the literary world out of its Philistine smugness. Here we have the same surf-like cannoneading of concepts which rear and roll and engulf us in resounding significances, here again the eager, arrow-swiftness of epigram, the whistle and whine of the satiric lash, the overall emollient of that humanitarianism which softens all of Miss Witte's emotions—even her wrath.

Miss Witte is no passive spectator at the jousts of life; she is modern, militant and charged with convictions. Some of the predicates of her own thinking are in the powerful poem which she appropriately entitles, "Force":

Bending back the dams, straining the sluices,
Whipping to ochre foam the bright digestive juices;
Grass in the river bed; lakes on the lawn,
In the east the sunset; in the west, the dawn;
And so I launch you, little song,
Not with splintering champagne
But with a spilling pain,
To tell the world's what wrong.

It is a poignant statement of the chaotic cross-purposes which are tearing our civilization asunder, making a nest of writhing serpents out of man's nervous system and upheaving even inanimate nature. There is a crusading forthrightness about Miss Witte's singing, a brooding discontent which, however, has neither the lethargy nor the limpness of despair. She is not resigned to a fatalistic acceptance of that

which can be remedied nor will she mouth the silly pipe or Pan while Roland's reproachful bugle hangs rusting on its peg. There is the trumpet scream of "Transcontinental Train," for example, a poem as modern as next Tuesday in idiom, and in thought as timeless as the stars:

Then the Mississippi river rose to its full, towering height
Like the ghost of a gigantic Gloucesterman in winter,
 glittering and white,
Rising above my head
I saw it plainly and it said:
 "Would you like a Martini?"

It is a swift and strong description of the essential battle between sophistication and the elemental strengths. Against an impenetrable phenomenal world, the flippant mind dashes itself and falls back bruised, bleeding and rebuffed. Triumphant nature sarcastically reminds the prostrate Quixote, who would tilt not with windmills merely but with the very wind, that his desires and his capacities are, after all, as shallow as his cocktail.

The critics who previously have reproached her for breaking with the past and scorning our humanistic heritage will probably suspect iconoclasm in such poems as "Epitaph by Anticipation"; there will be others who will see in the verse only a pun. But this is no superficial play on words. It is the impact of a centripetal intelligence focusing so fixedly on an idea that the result is a subtle "double-exposure." Courageously Miss Witte strikes off the taboos which cluster suffocatingly upon the human spirit:

What's all this talk of Livy?
Live and let Livy, say I;
When I come to die
I shall not cry if I'm not immortal
I agree with Lewis, portal to portal,
And that's enough
For the non-Shakespearean stuff
Of my dreams.
What of these men whose brains are rust
And togaed dust? What's Hecuba to me
Or he to Hecuba?

Especially noteworthy is the dexterous shift of pronouns whereby Miss Witte brings out the timeless continuity of literature which Mr. T. S. Eliot so brilliantly propounds; and, incidentally, in her own purposely rugged realism there is instinct some of his own disguised erudition. The verse is a masterly example, too, of Miss Witte's competence in unobtrusive internal rhyme. She shows herself one with the men of the past; she is willing to have her day and call it a day, to leave her bright dust as an anonymous contribution to the pavement of the future.

But while she is emancipated and definitely twentieth-century, she is a lineal descendant, intellectually, of those great thinkers of whom, with deep yet ironic compassion, she writes:

Aristotle
Whose brain, through a juniper bush
Grew into a bottle;
And Plato's
Evolved into potatoes.

This awareness of the past and likewise her smoldering resentment of present evil and injustice, blaze out most spectacularly in her key verse which, with admirable restraint, she names "Life":

Here we struggle on a slope
 Slimy as wet soap,
 Gagging in the smoke
 Of oxidizing oak.
 With up above, the savants say, heaven;
 Seven come eleven;
 Life's a lottery and I
 Slide gently, do not try.
 Not all of Yardley's vats can clean
 Cordite and phosgene, gas and kerosene
 From the tormented and polluted air;
 What is there more beautiful about greenery
 Than about subway scenery
 Or blue-bright machinery?
 You chant a prophecy, my child, my clown,
 London bridge is falling down.
 The chain-store clerk looked around the store
 And peered at me once more. . . .
 "A package of bird-seed, please. . . ."
 (Ah nightingales, nightingales, when Sappho
 was a girl
 And danced in dreamy Lesbos, her mind and
 skirts awhirl. . . .)
 Nightingales, martingales,
 Farthingales,
 Cakes and ales,
 Rustle of silks and sails—quick!
 I shall weep—or be sick!

If there is poetry more intense than that in our language, I am not aware of it. The tight compression of the last five lines, summarizing all love and adventure and contrasting it with the modern malaise, are among the finest I have ever read.

Some of Miss Witte's most powerful poetry is in the explosive fragments she prints under the general heading, "Juvenilia from Juvenal," in which her indignation crackles and sparks blue. There is the sword-thrusting taunt, for example, of "To a Certain Craven Demagog":

His mind a muscle was—and tough!
 And how he'd flash it forth and flex it
 But when the going got too tough,
 He ran (not walked) to the nearest exit!

Into the constricted compass of the quatrain, she can pack great emotion as witness her scathing "Lines on a Certain Critic":

With blows and bludgeonings of breath
 He beats his enemies to death;
 Old Samson's club could not surpass
 The lethal jawbone of this ass.

The temptation is to continue quotation and analysis indefinitely. But these excerpts will perhaps serve to show Miss Witte's craftsmanship and power. She must be reckoned with in contemporary letters, for hers is a voice strong and insistent, and pitched to the wave-length of the times. It is my assured conviction that, if our age ignores her, she will sue posterity and get a judgment reversing the decision of our lower court.

This was the book-review which our awakening critic found complete with commas and semi-colons in the foggy mind of early morning. He cannot imagine whence it came, what it means, and much meditation on the matter has suggested to him three solutions. All three are pedestrian, two intellectual, one biological. He thinks that perhaps: 1) he has read too much modern poetry; or 2) he has read too many current book reviews; or 3) that his habit of taking a wedge of Gorgonzola before retiring has, at long last, loosed submedian forces whose existence he did not suspect.

BOOKS

BUT FOR THE GRACE OF GOD . . . ?

THE WAYFARERS. By Dan Wickenden. William Morrow and Co. \$2.75

TYPICALITY AND INDIVIDUALITY are the Scylla and Charybdis of art. It is between the two that the artist must steer if he is to create a credible piece of work. The statue, the painting, the symphony, must be so original, so individual that it is unmistakably itself, and at the same time be so linked with tradition, with the whole cultural background that it conveys a meaning that falls within an understandable context. Utterly a-tonal music may be original enough, but a total jettisoning of harmony would not result in what the Western world means by music.

The necessity for the same balance plagues the writer, too. The characters of the novelist must be his creation, fresh, individual, unlike any other even similar characters; but they must be typical, too, in the sense that their reactions, their feelings and ideals are recognizable not only as human, but also as largely normal.

Now, if this very brief summary of a key position in art be true, the book under review here is open to rather serious criticism. Let it be said now that it is a superior piece of writing; it is shot through with a deep sympathy for the confusions, doubts, clumsy love, ineffectual helpfulness that all are to be found in family relationships; it is a sincere attempt to delineate the minor tragedies and triumphs that make up life for most of us; it is quietly humorous and not sensational even in the more drab passages (though its frequent use of the Holy Name is jarring).

It is, briefly, the story of Norris Bryant and his family. His wife, Laura, had died ten years ago and the husband's world crumbled beneath his feet. He took to drink; his children more or less ran wild, though they never became delinquents; he managed to hold onto his job, but that was all the contact he had with the world. After a decade of this, he wakes up suddenly to the fact that he has been neglecting his duty; he tries to establish contact with the children, but his awareness of them has come almost too late. The eldest son, moody, bitter, has married miserably; the eldest daughter is a good-hearted, brash harridan in a small-time night-club. The younger children are not so far gone, but they have problems he clumsily tries to understand and help solve, only to find himself rebuffed.

With it all, Bryant is a good man; he has just been in a fog for too long. Seeking to give the children something that may help them in their confusions, he begins to praise his hitherto-unmentioned wife, only to find that a silly and baseless scandal concerning her is thereby brought to the surface and disturbs the children still more. The oldest son, unbalanced by this time, comes to a tragic end; the youngest daughter narrowly escapes marrying a rotter of a pretty-boy and settles down with a good, solid husband; Norris Bryant finally marries his sensible, down-to-earth next-door neighbor, who has been the only real source of common sense throughout the story.

Despite this rather drab outline, the book is not morbid; there is no dwelling on the unsavory for the sake of shocking and there is a fair dash of humor, especially in the newspaper setting of Bryant's work.

However, there is a difficulty that lies deep beneath the finer aspects of the work. It is this: Mr. Wickenden has attained high individuality in his characters and their situations, but he has missed the typicality needed to make for credibility. We might have had no right to search for this in his work, had he not suggested that very thing to us. We might have read the novel with a great deal of pleasure, as the chronicle of this particular family, without asking how typical it is; but Mr. Wickenden has stated that he intended this Middle-Western family to be quite the normal American family, and that is where we find his characters and situations unrecognizable.

Of course, there may be thousands of American families as totally at sea as this fictional one, but I cannot feel that they are typical. Certainly among Catholics, though family difficulties and tragedies exist, they but rarely find the family

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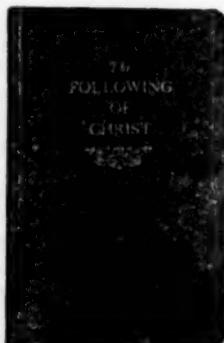
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Thomas à Kempis
did not write
Thomas à Kempis.
The world-famous
book attributed to
him was the spiri-

tual diary of a deacon, by name Gerard Groote. Thirty years after Groote's death, à Kempis was asked to edit the work. He switched the order of chapters; he changed some parts, censored others, omitted paragraphs, inserted some ideas of his own. Here is Groote's original.

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as totally unprepared to approach their solution from some solid principles as is the confused group in this book. The Bryant family have no ideals whatever, no values to which to turn; they are not bad people, not degenerate; they are utterly without light on great fundamental truths. They may be typical of just that bewildered stratum of irreligious Americans; they certainly are not typical of families that you and I feel we know.

Original, sincere, sympathetic, the novel fails, I think, to mirror real family life; it mirrors a fragmentary picture of that life, but the author has expressly attempted more. In attempting more he has failed, as all such attempts must fail which ignore the necessity of spiritual values in the great body of American families.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

DEIST, NO COMMUNIST

TOM PAINE: GODFATHER OF AMERICA. By W. E. Woodward. E. P. Dutton and Co. \$3.50

THIS NEWEST BIOGRAPHY of Thomas Paine is written with a twofold purpose: to refute the charge that he was "a filthy little atheist"; and to establish his claim to be the real intellectual author of American independence and the "inspirer of the Declaration." Mr. Woodward has little difficulty in proving his first point, understanding atheism in the modern sense. Paine was an eighteenth-century Deist. But he was an anti-Christian, since he rejected the fundamentals of Christianity—the inspiration of the Bible, the Fall of Man, the Incarnation, the Virgin Birth, the Redemption, the Resurrection, the visible Church, the economy of Grace. Deists were classed with atheists in his time, and Paine's God is a very vague one. Besides, Paine showed no knowledge of the intellectual basis of Christianity.

Mr. Woodward's broad claims for his hero's part in the Revolution defeat themselves by being too broad. One would almost think there were no Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Wilson, Jay, Hamilton or Washington. Yet all these men freely granted the part that Paine did play. To say that America did not think seriously of independence before the appearance of *Common Sense* (written while Washington was besieging Boston in 1775) and that after it everybody did, is to strain the facts. Paine did not create in the minds of the leaders the idea of independence, but he did help mightily in making it a feasible policy by popularizing it. Only in that sense is he the "inspirer" of the Declaration. Mr. Woodward also tells us (p. 94) that Paine "created the expression *The United States of America*" and was the first to use it (in *Crisis*, No. II, January, 1777). He forgets that Jefferson had already used it six months before in the Declaration itself. It was no doubt already a current phrase. This and other lapses tend unfortunately to create distrust for the author's generalizations, especially as he never gives a reference.

One excellent point that Mr. Woodward makes is in rejecting the current Communist party line, which claims Paine for a predecessor of Marx and Lenin. Paine did want a social revolution, here and in France, but it was a Jeffersonian, not a Communist revolution in the United States; and in the National Assembly in the French Revolution he sat with the Girondists, not the Jacobins, whom he hated, and who would have guillotined him but for an accident. Mr. Woodward has written a very readable biography, marred by excessive partisanship, but one which will send its readers back to re-reading their history.

WILFRID PARSONS

FREE TRADE'S START

THE FALL OF THE OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM. By Robert Livingston Schuyler. Oxford University Press. \$3

THE TRANSITION from the old colonial system to the adoption of free trade, and the development of the mentality which must precede such a revolution, are the subject matter of this book. Rebellion leading to independence was, according to the author, the alternative to this drastic change. For brevity's sake he restricts himself to the problems of com-

merce and defense, eschewing constitutional aspects, administrative machinery and governmental changes.

Since the old colonial system was essentially commercial and the fruit of mercantilism, Dr. Schuyler begins with a study of the origin, development, tenets, phases and implementing of the system in the Navigation Acts. Colonies were fitted into the scheme to promote national prosperity and power, regardless of ethical considerations or the effect on human happiness. But as early as the American Revolution the basic assumptions and deductions of mercantilism were challenged by Josiah Tucker, Adam Smith and Richard Price: Smith on the score that the advantages of colonies were illusory; Price because the system violated the natural right of man to freedom.

Interrupted by the French Revolution, the activities of the opponents of the old system were resumed after Waterloo, when utilitarianism stressed the cost of colonies to the mother-country, and assumed their eventual separation. Even so, shipping interests and loyalists still applied mercantilist principles to what remained of the Empire. In time, however, various factors effected the relaxing of the restrictions on trade, and marked a tendency which was seconded by Peel and others, leading eventually to the removal of various duties and the alteration of the corn laws. At the same time, anti-imperialism spread; and the navigation laws, despite the opposition of Canada and other colonies, were doomed by the famine in Ireland and crop failures in England. And since the major colonies had undertaken self-government, and imperial garrisons in these colonies were now an anomaly, they were withdrawn over the protests of Canada. This act was widely interpreted in England and in the colonies as indicating eventual separation. Seemingly the "Little Englanders" were assured of victory; Goldwin Smith at Oxford campaigned vigorously against imperialism; the dissolution of the empire appeared imminent. But the 1870s marked a change in public opinion and, consequently, in government policy; and Disraeli became the champion of imperialism and roused the specter of jingoism.

Limited though the author was as to printed materials by the circumstances of the times, scholars and students of history, economics and government will welcome this reworking of the field previously cultivated by Beer, Andrews and others. It is to them, rather than the general reader, that the author directs his attention.

CHARLES H. METZGER

THESE ARE THE RUSSIANS. By Richard E. Lauterbach. Harper and Bros. \$3

STUDENTS OF RUSSIAN affairs must thank Mr. Lauterbach for an extraordinarily detailed account of the people of the USSR. Apparently unhampered by the Russian's suspicions and reticences so heavily scored by many other adventurers, he has come close to finding out what makes your Russian tick, be he a citizen of Caspian Baku or Baltic Leningrad, Asiatic Alma Ata or Novosibirsk. A more than bowing acquaintance with the language and a definitely sympathetic approach have resulted in a remarkable collection of data of an intimate nature.

Hard-boiled Stalin's political profile receives a number of softening touches under the pen of Lauterbach. Marshal Zhukov, Moscow's savior, receives deserved pages as does Stalin's falcon, the air hero Pokryshkin. A stirring account of an interview with the latter's mother is typical of this busy reporter's efforts to cover high and low in his story.

One can hardly condemn Mr. Lauterbach's respectful wonder at much of the almost miraculous in modern Russia. Not every student, however, will agree with his thesis that Russia has won the war *because* of the Communist Party, rather than *in spite* of it (as those he glibly calls "sentimentalists" would have it). He is well aware of recent modifications in Russian Communism (which some believe essential), but asserts that the teachings of Marx and Lenin are still the foundation of the Soviet economic system; the Russians are *not* becoming more like ourselves. The deduction implied in Lauterbach's treatment, accordingly, seems to be that the USSR is still essentially Marxist and *therefore* has won victory.

Of particular interest is Lauterbach's enumeration and partial analysis of Russia's fears in regard to her allies. His

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CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS

By
REV. KONRAD ALGERMISSEN

Translated by

Rev. Joseph W. Grundner

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interpretation of these items will lead the reader to believe that the Western allies must definitely go more than half way (largely by way of political concessions) in effecting the understanding he so laudably advocates. So, too, one could almost say that Mr. Lauterbach joins Mr. Stalin in the latter's naive "disappointment" over the Vatican's failure to react positively to the Marshal's unofficial "overture" to Father Orlemanski. Richard Lauterbach's optimistic interpretations must be read in conjunction with some of the more cynical treatments of the USSR. The truth about Russia, as of other things, still lies somewhere between extremes.

FRANK FADNER

THE HIGHER HILL. By Grace Campbell. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$2.75

TENDER, BEAUTIFUL and dramatic is this story of Scotch pioneers in Glengarry, Ontario, during the trying period of the War of 1812. It starts with the heroine, Felicity, entering a young ladies' boarding school where she becomes the friend of one of the daughters of the MacAlpins, and it follows Felicity through her days of courtship and marriage up to the time when her young husband is home from the war and recovering from his wound.

The MacAlpin homestead is on a hill, but behind that hill rises another on which Felicity sets up her own home and from which the story takes its title. Before the war the feature of the older homestead is its hearty masculine vitality with father, sons and neighbors foregathering there for sociability, but with the mother giving tone and measure to it all through the wisdom born of love. The war channels much of this male vitality into patriotic services, and the home atmosphere is then dominated by the worries of the women as news drifts back of the fighting and of the death or wounding of loved ones.

Throughout, there is a fine responsiveness to the charms of natural scenery with emphasis on a grove of rowan trees gracing the higher hill. In youth Felicity shows rare promise as an artist, and her paintings figure in some of the most pleasing episodes of the story, especially in the sacrifice she makes when she turns her back on the prospect of an easy life with leisure for artistic accomplishment and cheerfully follows the man she loves along the rugged paths of pioneer farming. Religion plays a prominent part in the piety of the women and in the zeal of the old minister who is wearing himself out in a parish too large for this strength, while the Catholic priest who appears in a couple of incidents is sympathetically presented. A wholesome sense of reality and vigor pervades the story and makes it pleasant reading.

WILLIAM A. DOWD

LET US CONSIDER ONE ANOTHER. By Josephine Lawrence. D. Appleton-Century Co. \$2.75

PREJUDICES ARE A MATTER of deep concern at the present time. They are hauled out for inspection in lecture halls, churches, radio forums, club meetings and living-room conversations. If any person should desire to examine his conscience for his own prejudices, however subtle and hidden, I could suggest no more complete checklist than that provided in *Let Us Consider One Another*.

When Cecilia Warren, of New England background, Catholic and convent-bred, decides to marry Staff Sergeant Hyman Silverstein, wheels within wheels of disapproval are set in motion. The marriage of the young couple, though dealt with sympathetically, is not the main concern of the book. It serves, rather, as a device for pinpointing the unlovely aspects of prejudice in all manifold disguises. With no touch of the Savonarola, but with humor and detachment, the author makes use of the network of relatives and friends on both sides, and with swift, sure strokes she sketches the discriminations against Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Negroes, Italians, Poles, Germans, Northerners, Southerners, officers, enlisted men—and these are only the larger aspects. She does not miss the significance of hypersensitivity, the "chip on the shoulder" attitude that is the running-mate of every vigorous prejudice. Neither does she overlook the human inconsistency of bland self-assurance in the exercise of discrimination coupled with bitter resentment on the re-

ceiving end. The victims of prejudice may become its staunchest allies in a slightly different direction.

The book does not purport to be a study of mixed marriage. The two young people are earnest and idealistic, and the reader hopes for a happy solution to their normal problems. Cecilia's occasional confusion between tolerance and indifference would cause one to question how clearly the concept of Christ-like charity had been presented in her convent training.

There is little by way of neatly drawn conclusions, except, perhaps, the observation that habits of thoughtlessness rather than malice lie at the root of many social prejudices, and the implication that public-spirited efforts be accompanied by a humble acknowledgement of personal blind spots together with the cultivation of kindness, for which term we might substitute the more meaningful word—"charity." *Let Us Consider One Another* is entertaining in its clever humor and irony, and wholesome in its deeper import.

MARY STACK McNIFF

PSYCHIATRY FOR THE PRIEST. By Father Lachapelle, translated from the third French edition by Dr. G. F. Brady. Newman Book Shop.

IN THE EXERCISE of their profession, all priests are often confronted with psychiatric problems. It is necessary for them to have orthodox guidance in the care and direction of souls thus afflicted. Father Lachapelle offers such assistance to priests and Religious in this book. He is fully competent to undertake such an important task. Long experience and careful study inspire the excellent advice he gives to his fellow priests.

The reader will find the treatment of mental disorders a bit unusual but certainly justified. Different types of disordered constitutions replace the usual clinical entities. There is an abundance of interesting case-material. Father Lachapelle probably does not approve the opinions registered in the preface, certainly not the statement that "there is no mental trouble whatever without some lesion of the nervous system." Few will agree with him when he classifies *dementia praecox* as an organic psychosis, includes some neurotic states among the constitutional psychoses, and states that phobias, obsessions and impulses do not involve any trouble of intelligence. The reader will be disturbed by numerous improper hyphenations, unusual terms, such as "cerebral impotences," "tonality," "retrocedes," "thoroughfulness," "emotive," and the like, and by awkward, imperfect translations from the French.

LEO ROBINSON, S.J.

PRINCESS NINA A. TOUMANOVA is a native Russian who has been in this country since 1925.

RONALD BARON is an Anglican Chaplain working among the British Community in Buenos Aires, a student of Hispanic studies who has been led to a great admiration for the Spanish Catholic tradition and a great desire to promote a better understanding of that tradition in the Anglo-Saxon world.

DR. PAREKUNNEL J. THOMAS (Oxon.) is Chief Professor of Economics of the University of Madras, and has been, in wartime, Senior Adviser to several departments of the Government. As a member of the Committee on Economic and Social Cooperation of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, he has come to the United States as Chief Economic Adviser of the Indian Delegation. Also, Dr. Thomas writes us, he is a member of the ancient Church of India founded by the Apostle Thomas in 52 A.D., and is President of their Catholic Congress.

EDGAR SHAUGHNESSY, S.J., is a student at Spring Hill College, Spring Hill, Alabama, and a Southerner by birth and tradition.

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REV. FRANK FADNER, S.J., is professor of history at the University of Scranton.

REV. LEO ROBINSON, S.J., has had wide experience in the teaching of sociology and psychiatry.

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THEATRE

PLAYWRIGHTS AS CRAFTSMEN. Of seven plays reviewed in this column over the current signature, one was a really fine play, one was fairly well constructed, and one, *Foxhole in the Parlor*, was made plausible and interesting by virtue of a splendid interpretation of the leading role by Montgomery Clift. The other four were ill-favored efforts which the critics unanimously condemned. The box office quickly confirmed the judgment of the critics.

Four failures out of seven production-units is a record that would be tolerated only in show business. That a similar condition could exist in any other industry is unimaginable. Suppose, for instance, that of every seven motor cars produced only one was an efficient machine, one was just fairly dependable, and one could be kept in operation only by the constant attendance of an expert mechanic, while the other four had to be junked a few weeks after leaving the assembly-line. Production-managers and engineers would turn the industry upside down looking for the bugs. They would quickly find out what department, or what group of workers, was falling down on the job; whether the welders were at fault, or the grinders, or the men in the heat-treat.

A similar corps of trouble-shooters would have little difficulty discovering the principal cause of play failure. It is because the best minds in the theatre appear to be devoting their talents to the interpretative and production arts. There is an abundance, even a plethora, of first-rate acting talent available; and even the worst plays are well mounted. When plays are adequately and sometimes lavishly staged, when acting is uniformly good, and frequently excellent, there can be only one other reason why so many plays are esthetic and commercial failures—weakness in writing. Contemporary playwrights, on the record, are less competent than the craftsmen of any other trade.

In the contemporary theatre the best artists are the actors, the second-best design the sets and lighting effects, and the third-raters turn their hands to writing—the creative principle in the theatre. This is almost the reverse of the normal order, in which the creative element comes first, and should be produced by the highest intelligence.

It is a condition toward which reviewers, or critics, if you prefer the more highfalutin' term, cannot remain indifferent. An end-product of a bad play is a bad review. When a play has no substance, a reviewer cannot discuss it intelligently. In an effort to be interesting, he is forced to substitute wisecracks for mature criticism. When he runs dry of gags his reviews become dull as well as shallow, and he stands in fear and trembling as his editor scans his copy with a cold and fishy eye.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

A BELL FOR ADANO. Since this film is the celluloid translation of John Hersey's popular novel and Pulitzer-Prize-winning stage play, it seems quite possible that many of the cinemagoing public are already familiar with its story. Though there is no straining to put over a message for kindlier understanding between humans and between nations, nevertheless the piece emerges as a powerful sermon for the brotherhood of man. Set in a small war-torn Italian village where an American major is placed in charge of civil government, we are told how the man faces his task, a tremendous and sometimes heartbreaking one, because military and human necessities do not always coincide. Before the finale, though, the officer brings order out of chaos, and trust among natives who had learned to mistrust one another under Fascism—but, best of all, he has succeeded in restoring to the town a bell that symbolizes a way of life to the inhabitants. All this is presented with a sensitive understanding of the dramatic material involved. John Hodiak does a fine job as the kindly Major, while William Bendix gives a typical Bendix performance and adds some humorous touches as the officer's aide. Even though her part as a local girl—who reminds the American of his distant wife—is a thankless bit, Gene Tierney walks through it with a somnambulistic air. There are several delightful characterizations of peasants who demonstrate warm-hearted emotionalism. At times the picture is slow, but it is interesting, thought-provoking fare for mature audiences. (*Twentieth Century-Fox*)

THE NAUGHTY NINETIES. Whether you want to see this depends on whether you can take a large dose of Abbott and Costello. And, believe me, this is an extra-generous serving of the buffoons, for the show lasts for more than an hour while the zany pair go through every one of their familiar routines—some are funny, but even the comedians' fans may think "enough" before the finale. As a springboard for these endless antics, a tale is whipped up about a riverboat and the attempts of some gamblers to take it over from the captain (Henry Travers). Several songs that recall the 'nineties are worked into the hectic goings-on. *Adults* will have to let their personal taste be their guide here. (*Universal*)

BOSTON BLACKIE'S RENDEZVOUS. Even the followers of this series will not consider this record of Blackie's attempts to trail a homicidal maniac very worthwhile. As usual, murders and a moderate variety of suspense hold the stage while Chester Morris stalks the killer. Nina Foch is the girl in the case. Though a bit morbid at times, this is mediocre family fare. (*Columbia*)

MARY SHERIDAN

PARADE

WOUNDED by several Japanese bullets, a Catholic Chaplain who participated in the invasion of Makin in the South Pacific lay near death for hours before a rescue party could reach him. . . . Eventually medical corpsmen crept out to his exposed location and carried him back to the beach's first-aid station. . . . In a serious condition from loss of blood, he arrived at the station not a minute too soon. . . . Without delay, a doctor gave him a blood transfusion. . . . The transformation in the Chaplain was truly astonishing. . . . Instantaneously, he became a changed man, as strength and vigor rushed back into his frame and his interest in life revived. . . . He had been saved by the blood of somebody on the home front. . . . The story of the Chaplain is similar to that of countless thousands of service men in World War II. . . . Huge numbers who would have died in plasmaless World War I lived in World War II because of plasma. . . . Scenes that were missing in War I featured War II. . . . All over the land could be seen throngs of generous people giving away their blood to the boys on the battle lines. . . . Countless trains, loaded with blood, roaring to the ports. . . . Cargo planes, freighted with blood, flashing through the skies. . . . Ships, packed with blood, plowing the seas and the oceans of the world. . . . Over the entire globe, stricken men, millions of them, feeling the glow of new blood, new strength, new life.

Marvelous as this spectacle undoubtedly is, still more marvelous is another spectacle now centuries old. . . . Greatest Donor of Blood in all human history is One Who was crucified two thousand years ago. . . . By establishing the Sacrament of His Body and Blood on the night before His crucifixion, He donated along with His Body His blood to the entire human race. . . . On this inexhaustible blood-bank men have been drawing for twenty centuries and will continue to draw down to the very end of time. . . . Countless as the leaves of the forest are the human beings who, weakened by temptation, on the verge of giving up the fight, have felt the glow of new spiritual strength, new life with the reception of the Sacred Blood. . . . Everywhere on the surface of the globe; in the islands, in the continents, one sees the Blood of Christ being given to men. . . . In Africa, the Blood of Christ. . . . In Asia, the Blood of Christ. . . . In Europe, the Americas, Australia; millions, hundreds of millions, men, women, children are receiving the Blood of Christ. . . . In the centuries that lie ahead, new nations will arise and take the place of those we know today. . . . In the new nations, priests speaking languages yet unborn, will be distributing the Blood of Christ. . . . Not until Judgment Day will it be revealed how many billions of human beings were saved from spiritual death by the Blood given by the greatest Donor in history, Jesus Christ.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

CORRESPONDENCE

ENGLISH-SPEAKING CATHOLICS

EDITOR: The great practical problem of establishing and maintaining Christian justice and peace might be brought nearer to realization if the Catholics of America and those of the British Commonwealth of Nations knew each other better and were in a position, from an organizational standpoint, to make their influence felt for these objectives, so dear to the heart of the Holy Father. Here, maybe, is the foundation for an "English Speaking Union," but one based upon something more than an accidental attribute of common language alone, rather on the fundamental foundation of a common Faith as well—a faith that has proved its integrity by meeting the tests of two thousand years of history. The writer would welcome expressions from readers of AMERICA, if the Editor would entertain them. If not, correspondence would be welcome personally.

Providence, R. I.

C. KERRISH

COMICS AND THE SUPER-STATE

EDITOR: AMERICA for June 23 contained a letter from Norbert Engels, including my unworthy name with that of my famous fellow Jesuit, Father O'Callahan. Honestly, I feel flattered at being mentioned in the same paragraph, whatever the point of contrast.

Mr. Engels divines exactly my purpose in the "Superman" article. I am in the ant-hole—after termites. If he wishes, I shall send him a copy of an article by Father Walter Ong, S.J., to appear in the *Arizona Quarterly* in October, under the title, "The Comics and the Super-State." Father Ong outlines at length in his article the basic considerations behind some of the points in my article on "Superman."

As regards the letter from Mr. Stephens of Lynn; I hope to get some information from him which will definitely advance the discussion on "Superman" and Co. in school.

Chicago, Ill.

ROBERT SOUTHDARD, S.J.

MIXED MARRIAGES

EDITOR: In your correspondence section, June 16, appeared a letter from Mr. Noel Sullivan, Carmel, Calif., which asserted that the May 26 *Parade* column misrepresented Catholic teaching on mixed marriage.

This column stated, as its general theme, that the attitude of the Church toward mixed marriage is something like the attitude of police toward jumping from high buildings, the similarity consisting of the following points: 1) both Church and police forbid the respective practices; 2) when the prohibition of Church and police fails to deter, both strive to reduce the resultant damage as much as possible; 3) the effort of Church and police to reduce resultant damage does not mean they approve the respective practices.

Instead of attempting to demonstrate that there is no similarity between the Church and police attitudes in this matter, Mr. Sullivan directed his attention to an altogether different point which the column in question did not discuss at all. He argued that suicide is sinful while mixed marriage with dispensation is not, which argument, though true, has no bearing on the comparison between the Church and police attitudes. Mr. Sullivan, in a word, missed the point at issue.

The following quotation from the Encyclical on Christian Marriage by Pope Pius XI gives the Church's position:

The . . . attitude of the Church toward mixed marriage appears in many of her documents, all of which are summed up in the Code of Canon Law: "Everywhere and with the greatest strictness the Church forbids marriages between baptized persons, one of whom is a Catholic and the other a member of a schismatical or heretical sect; and if there is, added to this, the danger of falling away of the Catholic party and the perversion of the children, such a marriage is forbidden also by the

Divine law." If the Church occasionally, on account of circumstances, does not refuse to grant a dispensation from these strict laws (provided that the Divine law remains intact and the dangers above mentioned are provided against by suitable safeguards), it is unlikely that the Catholic party will not suffer some detriment from such a marriage. Whence it comes about not unfrequently, as experience shows, that deplorable defections from religion occur among the offspring, or at least a headlong descent into that religious indifference which is closely allied to impiety. There is this also to be considered: that in these mixed marriages it becomes much more difficult to imitate by a lively conformity of spirit the mystery of which We have spoken, namely that close union between Christ and His Church. Assuredly, also, will there be wanting that close union of spirit which, as it is the sign and mark of the Church of Christ, so also should be the sign of Christian wedlock, its glory and adornment. For where there exists diversity of mind, truth and feeling, the bond of union of mind and heart is wont to be broken, or at least weakened. From this comes the danger lest the love of man and wife grow cold and the peace and happiness of family life, resting as it does on the union of hearts, be destroyed.

It will be noted that with reference even to those mixed marriages for which all possible safeguards have been taken, the Holy Father says: ". . . it is unlikely that the Catholic party will not suffer some detriment from such a marriage."

New Orleans, La.

JOHN A. TOOMEY, S.J.

WAS GILL RIGHT?

EDITOR: In the four years I have been following AMERICA it has always stood up to the issues of the day, and has provided answers to many involved questions of politics, theology, sociology and art. Here is a question I have not seen answered in AMERICA.

What is the logic in trying to sanctify a socio-cultural structure whose foundation, values and orientation are anti-Christian, anti-human and basically subversive of true human culture? The structure is that of urban industrial capitalism.

I want to know if Gill was right. If he was, then any talk of reorienting and Christianizing the present socio-cultural structure is nonsensical.

While the recent articles in AMERICA, by Fr. Masse and others, are excellent in their way, they do not face this fundamental question: Was Gill right? If not, wherein is he fallacious? A critical examination of Gill's ideas on modern culture would be welcome. He may be extreme, but no one has yet pointed out to me exactly where he is illogical.

Wagrenton, Va.

PAUL H. WEISS

THE BOOK OF "THE WORD"

EDITOR: AMERICA for June 30 brought a message that will mean much to the Religion and English departments of all Catholic High Schools. Every week at Nazareth Academy we read Father Delaney's *The Word*. Now, with the collected columns in *We Offer Thee*, it will be possible to have forty copies for classroom use so that each week the students may know the meaning of their Sunday Gospel. The book will be a boon, too, for many a harassed pastor or assistant who has to prepare a last-minute sermon. Religious novitiates will probably use it as a supplementary preparation for meditation. Father Delaney has a special talent for showing that "the present moment is always filled with infinite treasures," so his echoes now in book form can "grow from soul to soul and grow forever and forever."

It pleases me to think how easy it will be to re-live past moments with the Father Delaney columns.

Rochester, N. Y.

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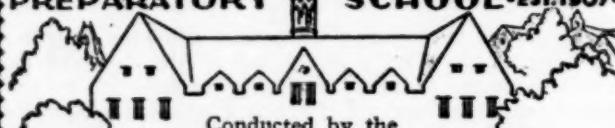
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THE WORD

ONE OF THE EARLIEST questions that our First Catechism posed for us was: "Of which should we take more care, of our soul or of our body?" The answer, which seemed obvious even to our very young minds, was that we should take more care of our soul than of our body.

Looking back after the lapse of years, we are inclined to wonder if we really can take more care of our souls than of our bodies, if life will really allow us to. In our more spiritual moments we may become irritated by the incessant demands of the body: the long hours we have to work to earn our weekly wage; the countless hours that have to go into marketing and preparing and cooking food; the attention we must give to dress if we are to keep our own respect or anybody else's; the necessary grooming—haircuts and hair-dos and shampoos and showers. Then add the hours of relaxation and sleep; the exercise, the walking and swimming and games; the care of the house, the heating and the cooling and the cleaning of it; the tender care of colds and cavities and more serious ailments.

Sometimes it seems that we who are "children of God," and "heirs of God, sharing the inheritance of Christ," we who "are marked out for death," if we "live a life of nature," spend most of our time and energy on the less important part of us, our bodies.

Some of it we may avoid. We can check now and then on our solicitousness of our appearances and the elegance of our meals. We can make a comparison between the care and time we give to spotlessness of body and spotlessness of soul; our impatience for bodily food and our neglect of spiritual food; the vacations we indulge in for the good of our bodies and the Retreats we do not make for the good of our souls. We might even take a paper and pencil, put down in two parallel columns "Body Culture" and "Soul Culture," and come to the startling conclusion that soul culture comes out a poor second.

For all that, we cannot neglect the body. We have an idea that God would not want us all going around looking like tramps; and we know that family meals are not only the feeding of our bodies, but a graceful social function that play an important part in the peace and harmony of the home. We have an obligation to take care of our health; and we have an obligation to live in an external decency befitting the dignity of Sons of God. For all our spiritual desires, we cannot do without money and material things.

It is interesting to note in today's Mass that the Epistle insists on the need of supernatural living, on a deep understanding and appreciation of our almost Divine dignity as sons of God, and our obligation to act as sons of God. The Gospel is the story of the unjust steward and inculcates not a complete spurning of money and material things, but a prudent use of them, supernaturally prudent. So use money, and so use all material things, the Gospel tells us, that they may become the means of helping you to make your way to Heaven. Then, in the Postcommunion of the Mass, we pray that "this heavenly Sacrament may be to us, O Lord, a renewal of both soul and body."

Maybe that is the answer to our problem. We are not body and soul, one joined to the other like links in a chain, or one living inside the other like a doll inside a doll house. We are human beings, body-soul, mysteriously joined into one. It is the human being, not the soul alone, that is the Son of God. The complete human being, not the soul alone, is the object of Christ's love, destined for eternal joy.

So too, it is the human being, not the body or soul alone, that eats and drinks and plays and prays and suffers, and offers the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and offers himself entirely and completely as a sacrifice in the service of God. As a son of God, he has one main intention in all his actions (bodily or spiritual or a combination of both) and that intention is to serve God, to make of himself and all his actions, his eating as well as his praying, an offering to God.

As a son of God, the human being has a supernatural dignity, an inner source of supernatural power. Living as a son of God, he supernaturalizes every single thing he does, he sanctifies every thing he does. He can make even the care of the body saintly and sanctifying. JOHN P. DELANEY

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